1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

the whole power in his own hands. The apparent power of the prime minister was absolute, but his real power was much curbed by the wide-spread authority of the monastic establishments, and by the partial independence of the petty *Gyalpos* and district *Kahlons*.

In Great Tibet the *Kahlons* of the four chief provinces of *Ngári*, *U*, *Tsáng*, and *Khám*, were elected by the civil power in subordination to the Grand Lama, while the inferior *Kahlons*, and all other petty officers of state, were elected by the four chief *Kahlons*. But in Ladák the prime minister's office was almost hereditary; that is, it was restricted to a member of one of the families of the principal *Kahlons*, or governors of districts. The choice was determined, as in other countries, either by royal favour and successful intrigue, or by greater popularity and superior abilities. Possession, however, gave so firm a grasp of power, that the office was usually retained in one family for several generations. The Kahlon of Moorcroft's time was the Kahlon or petty Gyalpo of the Chimra valley; and the power remained in the hands of his family until the final settlement of Zoráwar Sing, at Lé.

Many of the principal nobility of Ladák were petty chiefs of valleys, which had once been independent. Thus there was a *Gyalpo* in Nubra; another in Gya; a third in Spiti; a fourth in Zanskar; a fifth in Paskyum; a sixth in Soth; a seventh in Suru; and an eighth in Hembabs, or Drás. The chiefs of Paskyum and of Soth distinguished themselves by their protracted resistance on the first invasion of Ladák by Zoráwar Sing.

The prime minister was simply styled *Kahlon*, or "the minister," or *Bangki-Kahlon*, "the chief minis-

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

622 The inferior officers were the *Mipons*,* or *Gobas*† (that is, literally, the "head men" of the villages), and the *Shogampa*, or provincial collectors of taxes and customs.

622 The *Gobas* (who were also called *Grongpons*,‡ or
634 "village chiefs") were directly responsible to the *Kahlons*, or *Gyalpos*, of their respective districts, in all criminal matters, and in most accounts of revenue; although the *Mipons*, or head men, of some of the principal towns, rendered their accounts direct to the *Chagsot*, or lord high treasurer of Lé. But these exceptions were, I believe, only made in the cases of such villages as were set apart for the particular maintenance of the queen, or of some members of the royal
645 family. The *Chagsot*, or lord high treasurer, rendered his accounts to the *Kahlon*, or prime minister, who kept the privy purse of the king and his family.

622 The titles of the different functionaries varied in
634 different districts; but the most common were those which I have just given. The petty *Gyalpos* and provincial *Kahlons* were frequently called *Depons*,§ or "district chiefs," a name which recalls the Sanscrit *Dés-pati*, and the Greek Δεσποτης. Among the Mahomedans of Ladák (both the pure Kashmiris and the hybrid Argons), the petty chiefs are invariably called *Chho;* as *Gya-pa-chho*,‖ "the *Gyalpo* of Gya."

* *Mi-dPon*, "man-chief or head man."

† *hGo-ba*, emphatically the head man, from *hGo*, "the head, the top of anything."

‡ *Grong-dPon*. In Great Tibet, and in some parts of Ladák, this word is pronounced *Tongpon*. The Lamas more especially adhere to the pronunciation of Lhasa.

§ *sDé-dPon*, "district-chief." ‖ *mChhog*, "the head, the chief."

[19] Tibet AJ1

CENOTAPH--chhorten or chhotrten. The word "chhorten" means "a receptacle of offerings" Mr. Jasche describes them as being "a sacred pyramidal building, of a form varying in different countries...they were originally sepulchres, containing the relics of departed saints, and therefore called "dung rten" afterwards they were erected as cenotaphs, i.e., in honour of saints buried elsewhere, but in more recent times they are looked upon as holy symbols of the Buddhist doctrine." In Ladák, a wealthy Buddhist builds a "chhorten" for himself, leaving in the upper part of it a niche wherein, after his death and cremation, his ashes and powdered bones are placed. The niche is then built up. WT 778 764

[20] CHABA--chhaba. This is a corruption of "chhápa" meaning "tea man". The Leh officials speak of the Lhása commercial agent as the "chaba". His proper title is the zhung tsong or "zhung tsongpa" which means the merchant of the "deyva zhung" of Lhása. He comes once every year, and stays at Leh for about 8 months. He is sent by the Lhása Government, and is supplied with free carriage the whole way from Lhása to Leh, to the extent of 260 yaks or ponies for loading, and 15 riding ponies. During his stay at Leh, he is provided by the Kashmir Durbar with the following quantities of supplies, viz., flour 64 seers, butter 10 seers, sheep 1, grass 5 maunds, fuel 5 maunds. Two servants are also placed at his disposal. The principal articles brought by the "chaba" are tea (chiefly green brick tea), musk pods, incense sticks, Chinese turquoises, and certain medicines such as jádwár ("aconitus ferox") and momeera ("coptis teeta"). He takes back to Lhasa, saffron, Báltistán dried apricots and sugar. This "chaba" commercial agent is, in a way, connected with what is known as the "Lapchak mission" which is sent from Leh to Lhása every third year. For further information see "Lapchak". The Chhaba Mission being a profitable one; the right to conduct it is sold yearly by the Lhása Government, to a Lhása merchant. WT 441 439 T 441 439 492 WT 648 T 648 T 439 WT 439 T [441]

[21] CHIEF--gópa or góba the headman of village, etc., chenmo (principal). WT 622

CHIRAGH--skiontsey small--made of clay, stone or metal, for household use chut-khung the large brass or copper vessels in which oil is kept burning in temples. WT 415 789

towards him. But when they noticed the strange thing, they became 539
mortally frightened, and in their fear they raced to a high cliff and tumbling headfirst into the abyss they were shattered to pieces. The frightened mother rushed after her children and wanting to seize them by the tail to hold them back she fell with them into the depth below; the father bear who wanted to save the mother followed after her into the horrible abyss /48/ Thus no one was left who could report to the king about the new mischief that the fox had created. The latter enjoyed his flour porridge, lay down on his ear, and fell asleep as though nothing bad had happened.

Konchog Trashi told Namgyal and his companions many another 538
story about the sly fox (24) and his mischievous tricks, all of which

24. The Tibetans, like other peoples of Asia, have a collection of stories which greatly resemble the stories about Renard the Fox.

were eagerly received and retold to others by the boys.

/Following p. 48 there are two full-page illustrations in the text, one with the subtitle: "An onpo (soothsayer) and magician"; the other with the legend: "The reincarnated Bakula (Mushog), abbot of the monastery Spituk."/

/49/ Namgyal's Schooling

When Namgyal was a cycle of twelve (lo-skor), that is to say, 000
12 years old, his father said to him one dreary winter day, as he saw his boy playing ball (25) with his comrades on one of the field terraces [526]

25. A kind of hockey game.

free of snow: "It would be better for you if you learned to read and write instead of spending your time here with useless play. If you learn that, it will be of use to you later when you want to do business. Then you must be able to write out bills and receipts, and sometimes you will also have to compose a letter; and if you should become village magistrate some day, as I am now, then you will certainly have a great deal of writing to do." For a year now, Lobsang Wanggyal had 622
occupied the post; he was village magistrate (go-po) of Kalatse. In 651
this office he had to collect the taxes in order to deliver them to the

622 651 tahsildar (district official and judge) in Leh; he had the duty of calling up the farmers for forced labor (the building of roads and bridges, transport service with horses and carriers, and the like) which the government decreed; and he was also responsible for peace and order in the village. This position caused the father much exertion and worry as well as a lot of annoyance whenever the farmers did not want to obey his orders or did not pay the taxes. In bad cases, the policeman who traveled around the district would have to enforce the orders with a whip, and he did so extensively except when someone pressed a coin into his hand which ordinarily put him immediately into a very indulgent mood.

871 With these prospects Namgyal now set about school learning. Two to three times a week he went with a few comrades to the Lama Dondrub who belonged to the large monastery Lamayuru in the neighboring village, and who inhabited a small hermitage here in Kalatse at the edge of the village. He came from the Break-leg house and was, like his brother, sly, cunning, quarrelsome and used his position as village priest to plague and impoverish his fellow villagers and "penitents." Keeping school /50/ was entrusted to him because there was no one else to be had for the job. In winter, when all field work was at a standstill, he instructed the youths desirous of learning--only boys, never girls--who were never very numerous. As compensation for his efforts the father of one of his pupils would now and then give him a sack of barley or a piece of butter, but this did not happen too often: Yet he knew how to look out for himself. Education was still
876 on a very low level in the country. Lama Dondrub now endeavored to initiate his pupils into the mysteries of Tibetan script. On sunny winter days he would sit with the studious boys on the flat roof of a house, each one a sheet of rough Tibetan paper in his hand on which the Lama had written Tibetan letters and words. With a loud, rasping voice he would read out: "ka, kha, ga, nga," the first letters of the alphabet, and the chorus answered in the same tone of voice, the little alphabetarians rocking their bodies back and forth exactly the way their teacher did When the 30 letters of the alphabet were firmly implanted in their heads and could be rattled off, he started them on the reading and spelling of simple words. It was a laborious, slow undertaking, a mechanical and dull repeating and mimicking, and yet they had progressed so far by the end of the winter that they could read short sentences. The main difficulty was presented by the many prefixes and suffixes, letters placed in front of the words and syllables,

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

651 Chapter III, D. Village Communities and Tenures.

both of revenue and common expenses, are settled. It is attended by the *wazír* and *gatpos* or *lambardárs*, and by some fifty deputies from the five *kothís*.

423 649 Government control over waste.

In the revision of Settlement Mr. Lyall defined rights in waste as they have been described in the preceding pages; though in *jágír kothís* in Láhaul he thought it prudent to say nothing precise as to the ownership of unoccupied waste. Unoccupied waste in *Khálsa kothís* was declared to be the property of the State. In Láhaul the Thákur was declared to be the local authority for making *nautor* grants in a *jágír kothí*, and the *wazír* in a *Khálsa kothí*. In Spiti the *Nono* or *wazír* was declared to possess the same power.

624 Village officials.

In Láhaul there is a *lambardár* appointed by the State for each *kothí* all of whom are subordinate to the *négí* or *wazír*, who is the head-man for the whole valley. The *pachotra*, or rate of 6 per cent. upon the revenue is shared between the *négí* and the *lambardárs*. The first *Negi* appointed under British rule was a Bráhman of Pattan. He, however, was soon superseded by Tárá Chand, who afterwards resigned in favour of his son Hari Chand, the present *négi*, and the leading Thákur of the valley. He enjoys magisterial powers and is remunerated by an extensive *jágír* in addition to his share in the *pachotra*. The officials whose special duty it is to superintend *begár* arrangements have been already mentioned.

622 [651] [623]

In Spiti there are two kinds of head-men, the *gatpochemno* or *lambardárs* of *kothís* and the *gatpochugán* or *lambardárs* of villages. The first have nothing to do with the collection of the revenue, but are in charge of the *begár* arrangements, and receive and account for the collections of supplies for travellers. They are also now considered to form the *Nono* or hereditary *wazír's* privy council. They used to get the loan of a horse and five *páth* barley-meal a day from their *kothí* when on actual service. In place thereof 50 *lákh* or *khal* of barley per annum have been given to each out of the *netal* collections; so that they are paid by assignments of grain, and the whole *pachotra* (5 per cent.) goes to the *Nono*. The office is not hereditary, though the son, if thoroughly fit, has a preference; appointments are made by the vote of the *gaptos* of villages with the concurrence of the *Nono*. There is a *gatpochugás* for each village or group of two or three small villages. In *begár* arrangements he works under the *gatpo* of the *kothí*, and he collects the revenue of the village direct from every payee, great or small, and conveys the sum due from the village to the *Nono*. The collections are often a little in excess of the amount against the village in the *khewat*, in which case the surplus is shared among the regular landholders. These village *gatpos* hold office for a year only, or for two or three years. Whenever the landholders wish for a change, or whenever the man in office chooses to resign, they elect a new man, and report the matter through the *kothí gatpo* to the *Nono*. As remuneration, he gets five *páth* meal a day for the days in which he is actually employed in public service, and is also excused his turn of carrying loads from village to village, but not his turn of carrying loads across the passes, for which there is a different

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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roster. In *kothí* Pín two men do the work of village messengers and policemen, and are paid three *khal* of barley per annum apiece out of the *satai* collections; the office goes by the name of *laspa*, and is held by the landholders in turn. Under the kings of Ladákh, a family in the village of Mani held the hereditary office of the *togochi* of Spiti. The *togóchi* was a secretary and keeper of the records, and was associated with the *wazír* on an almost equal footing in all State business. The present head of the family, by name Sonám Tabgi, has been in the habit of assisting the *Nono* as a secretary.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

were engaged, becoming so violent that our tents partly blew down we were partly helped to descend, for its inhospitality drove us on into Kargil. The camping ground is a very pleasant one near some mills by a stream. On through a gradually narrowing gorge to Lotsun, where half of the whole march is done, then through Darkit, where the "headman" of the wee village is a woman, and then at last the defile opens out, and the mountains round the valley of Mulbek come into view.

As we emerge we see our first *chortens* on the hill on our right, and a little further on we notice that another broad valley enters the Mulbek one at an obtuse angle, while whole ranges of mountains come into view, vast upheavals at all sorts of angles. Still a little further till we have to turn our heads well round on the right, then at last we spy, built into the side of the rock behind and facing that other valley, Shergol, our first lamasary, the queerest, most elfish of structures, only distinguishable by its whitewash from the rocky formation into which it seems to merge. Now indeed we are back into Lamaland. Even before this, while watching for our first *dGo-ma* (monastery), again a perfect little picture has claimed our attention on the left. A dear old grandmother, with her white uncovered locks blowing round her cheery wrinkled old face, is standing near a mossy-looking rock from which spring-water is falling, with her picturesque country basket, a four-sided structure converging to a cone-like point, at her side. This is a medicinal spring, famed for its tonic effect on the stomach, but on inquiry, the old lady says she has been applying the water to her arms and shoulders for which it is also remedial. Evidently she suffers from rheumatism in her old age.

The next part of the road has already been referred to in our third chapter with its ludicrous resemblances to scenes and statues, all the more fantastic for the stately majesty of the great hills behind. Had the long march so wearied us that we were getting dreamy, or was that really an old judge in

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

the wild red currants, now ripe, are wonderfully sweet to the taste. Then look up to right and left, and see the great slabs of cliffs, rising absolutely straight up from the river for over 1,000 feet; or, where they lean at all, the slope is inwards. Behind them are further tiers. Beyond, more cliffs, rising up to a similar height, look just like huge stalagmites, the formation of cliff and stalagmite together often suggesting one of nature's wonderful cathedrals with its many spires. The Ladaki would people them with his *lhas* (spirits), which he certainly believes inhabit the stalagmites.

At last we turn a corner and our hair might turn grey too, for the natural road stops abruptly at one of these perpendicular rocks, on to which human hands have built a kind of rough scaffolding. On every little projection from this rock stones have been merely laid to the desired level, and not even cemented with mud. Jutting out from the rock are beams ; how they have been fixed in it is impossible to say, and resting on these more beams parallel with the cliff, and finally, to give a firm footing, slabs of rock. Why the whole crazy structure does not topple down is past comprehension. The doctor, wishing to be whole in order to render first-aid to the Padre should calamity over-take him, crosses over first, to feel peculiar sensations up and down his spine as he watches his colleague follow after him. Even the horses seem to realize their precarious position, and press close up to the cliff. Having safely traversed this piece of road, we are not surprised to see a *chorten* and a *mani* wall, though still miles away from human habitation, for even the Ladaki must feel he needs a special safeguard for such a perilous passage.

From now our road descends until we reach Hanupata, where, although the onset of rain threatens to damp our welcome, the villagers make up for it in the heartiness of their greeting. The *mGopa* or headman begs us to come and rest in a "very nice room" of his house until our luggage

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

arrives, and leads us thither up crooked rocky lanes, through dark alleys, up ricketty ladders, and under low portals, which give rude shocks to our heads or topees. This " very nice room " with its mud walls is about 15 ft. by 18 ft. in size, while its low dirty roof just above our heads, has been stained a beautiful shining mohagany by years of smoke, a process being continued by a fire at the further end, whose acrid fumes, most painful to the eyes, fill the room. To the left a nice large verandah admits fresh air, and appears to be the only clean spot in the room, not excepting our travel-stained selves. While the water for our tea is being boiled, the family produce a black rug, woven from sheeps' hair, and place it on the floor, so that we may both sit and " lay our table " upon it. The family, vastly entertained and entertaining, sit around, consisting of father, son, son-in-law, and one or two ladies whose relationship is not precisely ascertained. We tell them of the road already traversed; they tell us of joys to come. The old grandfather, or *Meme,* is specially interesting as he sits on the verandah, wearing a peculiar type of hat of a fashion only retained by a few of the oldest inhabitants, though still part of the ceremonial dress at weddings. Like a very elongated tea-cosy, it is doubled over to one side in the middle, has a turned-up brim, and was introduced by King Senge Namgyal. The old man is smoking his pipe with such enjoyment, that we are constrained to inquire as to the source of his tobacco, for such relish can hardly be credited to the old metal pipe. He replies that he has gathered the fragrant leaf from the hillside. The Padre having a fellow-feeling with this smoker gives the old man some of his own " Country Life " tobacco to sample. He fills his bowl, and his face lights up as he puffs away at the wonderful new concoction, and assumes a beatific contentment. Taking out his pipe, he surveys it with a smile, for who could have believed even that old friend could have produced such a delightful inhalation.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

As we ride
622 up, the chief gipsy appears. He is a short, stout, healthy-looking young fellow, and his good-natured smile of greeting seems to us to presage a successful deal. He wears long
291 trousers of homespun, and a short jacket of the same material.
301 A Ladaki hat is placed jauntily upon his head, and his rather large earrings make him resemble his Spanish brother still more. He is followed by several others of the same ilk. His spouse, too, makes her appearance, and a nice picture she is. Her happy, jolly, round, fat face shines from the amount of butter with which she has anointed it, and is surmounted by a half-circle of red material with large stones of turquoise matrix inserted. Her well-covered body testifies to good living and plenty of fresh air. There is nothing of the Zenana lady about this dame. Two or three children play happily around her, but their dress is so scanty that one's
197 description may be still more so. We address them with our Ladaki "zhu," and make a few further pleasant remarks. Although our dialect is quite different from theirs, they understand not only ours, but that of most of the people among
437 whom they live and trade. "Have you a pony to sell?" we
563 ask, and are told that they have such marvellous ones for this
731 very purpose, that they defy description, and as for their amble, well, riding them is like sitting in a chair. I am not sure that they did not say *raeil* instead of chair, for anything that has wheels is designated by this Ladaki pronunciation of our English word "rail," even though it be only the missionary's perambulator. "What sort of an amble has this pony of yours?" we next inquire. "A '*Stongyor* of course" comes the rejoinder. Now this needs some explanation. In countries like Ladak, where one has such long treks and few pieces of road that can be trotted on, the most comfortable and least tiring pace a pony can possess is the amble, with the result that if a pony does not have one naturally, he must try to acquire it by having the two legs on the same side tied together. The natural amble is called *stongyor*, which means

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

child or perhaps by a mother with one or two children in her wake. A few houses are also scattered here and there among the fields, while in a larger village, many families have also a "country seat." This *yarsa*, or summer-place, usually consists of a small hut with a stable below, and a kitchen-room above, leading on to a balcony or flat roof. These may be on the outskirts of the village, or a mile or two up the valley behind. Anywhere on the hillsides, not too far distant from the rest of the community, where a spring or brook is available to water a small patch of cultivated land, these *yarsas* may be found, while in a large village such as Kalatse a considerable proportion of the population move in the summer away to the hills, taking their cattle with them to the so-called *brogs*.

Coming back to the village one often notices a little roofed balcony placed over the front-door, containing its three miniature *chortens*, coloured red, white and blue, with its demoniacal gods crudely painted on the wall behind. Near the house a young girl may be seen with a small stone in her hands pressing out the oil of apricot-kernels on a large flat boulder with a hole in the middle, into which the fluid runs. This oil is used for cooking purposes, for dressing the hair, and for burning in the little vessels before the altar. On the high road we have met in early summer donkeys and ponies loaded with sackfuls of these apricot kernels, proceeding down to Kashmir to sell them for the same purposes. They come from Baltistan, where the best apricots of this part of the world grow, and one can picture the inhabitants sitting out in the winter sunshine, when there is no field-work to occupy them, and cracking open the innumerable stones necessary to fill all these sacks with kernels. The seeds of a species of mustard plant are used for the same three purposes, though the mustard-oil is not so strong as that of the apricot.

In the house of the headman of the village, and in many of the better-class homes of the town, one room is dedicated as a little private chapel, used chiefly by the master of the house FOR READING HIS HOLY BOOKS AND REPEATING HIS PRAYERS.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

before given show that there is about 100 feet of water between the island and the near shore. This little place, being ordinarily undisturbed by man, is a great resort of the gull, which in Ladākhī is called *Chagharatse*; the surface was nearly all covered with its droppings, and there were hundreds of the young about; most of these must have been hatched near the beginning of July. Having heard that it was a matter of interest with some ornithologists to learn about the nidification of the wild goose,* I was on the look out for information concerning it, and I found that this island is one of the places where it lays its eggs. I was told by the Chāmpās that they find the eggs there just before the ice breaks up—say the beginning of May, after that they have no means of reaching the island; I myself found there a broken egg, but at the time I was on the island (the last week in July) the young had all been hatched. A few days later I followed the same inquiry in the valley of the Salt Lake, and on an earthy island in the fresh-water lake called Panbuk I found a nest where the mother was sitting with some goslings and two eggs, one just breaking with the chick; the other egg I measured and found to be 3¼ inches by 2¼, and very nearly elliptical in form. The nest was a slight hollow, lined with, first, a few bits of a soft herb, then with feathers; I was told that these goose eggs are found also at the edge of the Salt Lake itself.

For man and his followings the banks of Tsomorīrī are inhospitable. The bare rocky or earthy mountains and the stony plains afford little pasture for the flocks. Still the traveller finds patches of grazing ground just near enough for one to go from one to another in a day's march. Karzok, which is the headquarters of Rupshu, is situated near the shore of the lake. Here is a house and a monastery. The house belongs to the chief man of the district and of the tribe. The monastery is for about thirty-five Lāmās; the building of this under the difficult circumstances of the place, whither every bit of wood had to be carried from far, and the keeping up of it, is creditable to the Rupshu people. There are, besides, eight or ten small houses—mere hovels—where some old and sick remain when the camp has gone to the Indus Valley.

* The barred-goose; in Ladākhī, *nangpā*.